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she has had in bringing babies into the world." If she has "a family of fine children of her own," it is a happy augury. Very important is her right to perform a ceremony, to pray and sing and treat the newborn infant ritually. It is not absolutely essential to have such a "ceremonial" woman in command at this time, but, since success in life depends so largely on ritual preparation, she functions in a majority of births. This woman is well paid for her services; some valuable property, often a horse, is her reward.

When the time for delivery draws near, the husband leaves the home. Unless an emergency arises, he cannot be present at the birth, for relatives of his wife to whom he stands in a relationship of respect and avoidance are certain to be there.[2]

There is no definite rule which bars other men from being present. In fact, they are sometimes asked to attend in emergencies. But usually "men don't come to a birth because there are so many women around, and a man would feel funny." Another factor which discourages their attendance is that discharges from the woman's body at childbirth are to some extent equated with menstrual blood, from which a man can contact painful swelling of the joints.

During delivery the woman kneels with legs apart before an oak post which she uses to steady herself. Assistants hold her arms if she requires aid. To facilitate the birth, the genitals may be bathed in water in which the pounded root of a plant (*Eriogonum jamesii*) has been boiled. A similar decoction will be used after the birth to insure rapid healing. To speed birth, four small, light-colored pieces of the inner leaves of narrow yucca may be swallowed with salt, one after the other. The midwife massages the woman's abdomen downward and receives the child. With a long black flint or with a sharp edge of a length of reed or yucca leaf, she cuts the umbilical cord about one and one-half inches from the baby's navel and knots the end or ties it with a strand of yucca-leaf string. If the child does not cry or breathe at once, cold water is dashed on its body. When a baby is obviously alive

[2] For an account of these observances see pp. 163–81.

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846 finements last from a few days to a week. Moreover, the cere-
[845] monies for difficult childbirth and the many medicines in use for
[757] ailments resulting from childbearing suggest that the woman does not always have an easy time.

[844] After the birth of her child, the woman ties a rope or a strap
[826] around her waist "so that her stomach will not sag." She wears this until she feels strong once more.

844 Despite the roving life, there is an attachment to the place of
823 birth. A child is told where he was born; and, when he is again
788 brought to the vicinity, "they roll him on the ground to the four directions. They don't make a special trip for this, but they do it if they happen to be there. This is done even if the child is getting big." Adults as well as children have been known to roll in this manner upon returning to the birthplace.

CRADLE DAYS

852 Normally, the fourth day after birth is the occasion for a cra-
756 dle ceremony, although sometimes the rite is delayed for a few
[759] days more. The immediate family may include an old man or woman prepared to perform it, or the midwife may know the rite and accept the task. Depending on the "way" of the shaman who officiates, the ceremony will be elaborate or modest. A poor
[556] family is satisfied to obtain a shaman whose ceremony is pruned to essentials, while a wealthy family may make more of a display of the event. Not infrequently the selection of the practitioner is related to the web of human relations—to friendships, to bonds of blood, to desire for gain.

[556] There's a shaman, my relative. And there are some people who have a new baby. They are well-off people; they have much property; they have horses and buckskins and bring in lots of deer. My relative has nothing like this, though he is a shaman. He is poor. I notice that this wealthy family with the new baby has lost several babies before this.

I go to them. I say, "You people have a new baby. I notice that you have lost several children. My relative is a good shaman. He knows something to keep the child well. You go to him and ask him and he will put up a ceremony for you. But don't tell him who told you about his ceremony."

Those relatives of the little child talk it over. One says, "I'll give a gun for that ceremony." Another says, "I'll give two blankets." Another offers a horse or a buckskin.

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he coughed up nasty yellow stuff that tasted bad. They said this came from smoking too much. The yellow in the tobacco just got in the stomach, and more and more accumulated until a person could spit it out. Sometimes a person got pretty bad and began to spit blood--have what you call hemorrhage now, I guess.

The Chiricahua thought you could catch this from someone who had it, and that you got it from having intercourse with someone who had it. So a man would be ashamed to admit that he was spitting blood or yellow pus for fear that someone would say he had had intercourse with a woman who had this.

The Chiricahua had remedies for this. Some used "narrow medicine" [*Perezia wrightii*] for tuberculosis.[1] But lots of them were ashamed and waited until it was too late to save them.

Love ceremonies.--Love ceremonies are carried on by some men and women for their own purposes or, upon request and payment, for others who seek them out. Though this type of ritual is not equated with witchcraft, "charmers" are seldom talkative about their art. The danger in wielding a love ceremony is that the person who is to be influenced may detect and resist the onslaught. "Often a love ceremony that fails or is improperly performed makes a person crazy. There is a ceremony to cure the effects of the love craziness."

Certain objects and motifs occur time and again in love ceremonies. The four-holed flageolet, made of carrizo, is one of these:

There were very few who played the flute. I've seen flutes played, but the Chiricahua didn't pay much attention to them. The flute must have come from the Western Apache. They use it a great deal. The Chiricahua feel that, when anyone is playing on the flute like that, it's not a good thing. It is connected with love magic, and they don't like it. Only people with love ceremonies use it, it seems.

Many charges concerning the possession of love power are undoubtedly inspired by rivalry and jealousy. Exceptional success in gaining the attentions of the other sex, or polygyny involving a man of but ordinary means, may lead to the same suspicion:

The hummingbird is ceremonially used. I think some use it in love ceremonies and to influence girls just as they use the butterfly. R., they say, knows this

[1] Tuberculosis can also be caused by worms. In a trickster tale, Coyote, wishing to deceive his family, tells them he has lung trouble and that they should leave him for dead if worms drop to the ground from his bed. That the "worms" may really drop, he takes spoiled meat to bed with him.

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For therapeutic purposes bloodletting is sometimes practiced without any ceremony: 757

Bleeding is done to humans for pain in the arms or for rheumatism. A skilled man is obtained to do it, not necessarily a shaman. He opens the vein on the back of the hand. This is not done on the legs, but just on the arms. . . . . Old Man P. used to cut veins on people when their arms ached. Sometimes he even cut a vein in the head.

Bloodletting is used for fatigue also, but to a limited extent: [828]

Blood is sometimes drawn from the legs in order to relieve fatigue. We use prickly-pear cactus or something with spines to draw the blood. I have done this and got relief quickly. [824]

The bone of a broken arm is set, and splints (flat pieces of sotol wood) are bound on it with buckskin or rawhide strips. 752

Frostbite is treated with pitch and grease: "One of my relatives, a man, froze the bottom of his foot. He took pitch [probably piñon pitch] and grease, put them together, and rubbed them in. It is good for it."

Massage is used for an illness said to be caused by a shift in the position of the intestines: 75 826

When you get hungry or sick, your intestines come up toward your chest. Then whoever is taking care of you should take something warm, rub you with it and push the entrails down. When they go down to their place, take something and tie it around the chest to keep them down. I did this a few days ago. I used my belt. My wife rubbed me first. You can hear the intestines go down.

A buckskin truss which a ruptured man made for himself has been described. 752

For rheumatism, grease and red ocher are mixed, warmed, and tied over the aching spot. A stone or a shell is sometimes heated and pressed on the painful joint. Such a stone or shell may also be pressed to an aching ear or any paining spot. 757

To relieve a toothache: "S.'s mother uses the awl that she makes moccasins with. She gets it hot and puts it in the hole in the tooth."

Even sleepwalking is often dealt with naturalistically: 513 828

When a person has the habit of sleepwalking, they make him sleep with someone. They tie him to this one with a rope. Then he can't get away without waking the other up. I was this way, and they did it with me. They tied me to my brother. One man was this way when we were in Old Mexico. He took a lance

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513 828 and ran over a cliff in his sleep. Another fellow climbed up a tree. They called to him, "What are you doing up there?" Then he woke up.

775 Despite these instances of the nonceremonial care of ailments, a short account which contains a number of elements inspired by ritual practices indicates how arbitrary is any division of the religious and secular treatment of disease:

> You can burn charcoal on your arm or leg to kill pain.[9] You do this when you have a pain all the time. Take wood and burn it to charcoal. Then light a small piece of it again, one about the thickness of the lead in a lead pencil. Blow on it until it burns at one end and moisten the other end or the place on the arm where you are going to put it. Then stick it on. Let it burn out. Don't watch it as it burns. Some do it four times around the place where it hurts.

Here we have the fighting of like by like, the restriction against watching the flame, and the feeling that the procedure should be repeated four times; yet the sufferer does not have to possess a ceremony in order to give himself the treatment.

752 The method for curing ivy poisoning and red-ant stings obviously borrows from the psychology of ritual also:

> My people knew about poison ivy and how to recognize it. If I touch poison ivy, the blisters break out, because I am sensitive to it. But perhaps you are not. Then my father and mother will call you over, because, though you touch it, it does not bother you. You don't have to be a shaman or know anything special. You come and rub anything on—it might be dirt. You say, "Now this person is just like me. Leave him alone. Go away. I'm watching him." It's the same with the sting of the red ant or any stinging thing.

515 751 757 *Sweat-bathing.*—Another practice that stands midway between therapeutics and ritual is sweat-bathing. Many who have used the sweat bath consider it a means of keeping fit and are little concerned with its ritual extensions. "I used to do it just for a general tonic," explained one informant. Even when the sweat bath is thought of as a cure for deformities, it is to the heat and the massage that the benefits are usually attributed. Said one commentator: "The sweat bath was the custom since the beginning. Maybe it was supposed to be a ceremony, but since then it has been wearing off."

[147] [9] This method is similar to the tests of courage popular with young boys (cf. p. 69).

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The person who agrees to erect a sweat house is not a true shaman, nor are the rights which are now transmitted from individual to individual explained as a result of some past power experience. Thus, one informant was of the opinion that Child of the Water "gave the custom." And yet the right to build a sweat house is a special prerogative, claimed and controlled by relatively few men.

Not everybody can make a sweat bath. Just certain men can do it—men to whom the knowledge has been handed down. Such a man builds it or directs the building of it. All the while it is being built he sings and prays for it. He handles every movement in connection with it ceremonially, just as he was directed to do when the right was handed down to him. He is present when the sweat bath is used. He is the one who chants the prayer part of the song when the men are inside, though all who are in there join in the refrain. He is usually quite an old man. He sets the rules. You can't just come in and go out as you please. It might be in this man's "way" that you have to stay in there through a certain number of songs. Then you have to do it.

The sweat bath is used for good health, for long life, and to cure sickness. It is usually built near water, and when the songs are finished everybody rushes out and plunges into the water. Very old men who can't do that sit down on the bank and splash water on themselves.

An account of the erection and use of the structure may place the practice in perspective:

Sweat-bathing is for health and good fortune. Deformed people do it a great deal and are massaged when they come out. Usually a sick or deformed man pays one who knows how to put it on, but no special kind of payment is given. Others are invited. But often the man who knows how will just put it on for the benefit of the people. When the announcement is made, many men want to take the sweat bath. Everything else is laid aside. This is a special occasion. Women don't take sweat baths, nor boys before the racing [boy's training] age.

The sweat house could be made any time of year, but it is usually done in the summer. It is dome shaped like the regular house, only smaller. It is about four and a half feet high and about six feet in diameter. The framework is of oak, tied together at the top. The outside is covered with brush and with skins. No smoke hole is left at the top. The door faces the east. On the inside, close to the door and on one side of it, there is a pit for the hot rocks. The man in charge directs the making of this sweat house.

In the morning a person who is sick or deformed and who is going in there prays in his own way. He may say, "I am sick in this manner. I want to get well, and so I am doing this in the right way."

Often they begin about midmorning. Twelve is the most allowed in at one

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751 time. About four to six men usually go in at once. They wear just a loincloth.
•757 Before they go in, pounded piñon needles or pounded juniper may be rubbed on
515 their bodies by the man in charge. All the men wear sage tied around their heads
[291] while they are in there. And they take a drink in which four pieces of mesquite
[824] bean have been put. Each man has to bring a stick to scratch with. He cannot
[413] scratch his body with his fingers.

Four big rocks are heated outside and then brought to the pit inside with a forked stick. Water is brought. The men are sitting in a circle but leave an open space to the east. Then the water is sprinkled on the hot rocks. Anyone who is appointed can sprinkle water on. One man sits outside and operates the door cover so that the heat does not escape. The man in charge is always in there. He
[463] prays in there and leads the singing. Special songs are sung, songs that mention
[782] the sweat bath, the earth, and the sky. Usually four songs are sung over and
[533] over. All who are inside sing.

The men try to stay in there about an hour. Then they come out and bathe.
[481] Some young fellows run a race, too, while they are still warm from the sweat
[826] bath, to enable them to become good runners and to make them long winded. That is their belief.

Sometimes the men go in four times during the day. But some can't stand it. K. went in once. The heat was so great that he didn't go in a second time. Sometimes they just go in once and it's over. They rub themselves well with their hands when they come out. Sweat-bathing like this keeps men in good physical condition. It isn't done right away again. They would wait at least fifteen days
[888] before doing it again. There is no use for very old people to go into the sweat house. Their lives are spent.

278 *Herbalism.*—Plants are used in the majority of cases, whether the manner of combating the illness be ceremonial or purely secular. "There are all kinds of roots and weeds and herbs, something for everything; nothing was left out." Some plants are considered so "strong" and so "ceremonial" that only those who have supernatural sanction and directions for their use dare apply them. Other plants, usually administered in nonritual contexts, appear in ceremonies if the supernatural power so orders.

751 Incensing with the smoke of burning juniper and piñon boughs
824 is mentioned repeatedly:

My people take piñon and juniper, put the boughs together, and burn them. They do it inside the home and keep the members of the family there until they can't stand it any longer. This burning makes a lot of smoke, and they stay there until the tears come from their eyes. Then they won't catch a disease that is around. They do this if there is a great deal of disease around.

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Various rectal ailments are treated with medicines administered through an enema tube: [757]

The Chiricahua use the enema tube in cases of the passing of blood, for hemorrhoids, or for long-continued stomach trouble. The tube is of carrizo or elderberry wood. It is used on both men and women. The medicine, made from plants, is a liquid and is poured in. Then the one doing the curing blows into the tube. After the tube is taken out, a powder made of pulverized dry plants is placed in the rectum and around it. Last some grease mixed with red ocher is rubbed around the anus. [759]

For blood in the stool, the root of cinquefoil is ground up and mixed with water; the decoction is drunk. It is also applied externally to aching parts of the body. Apache plume (*Fallugia paradoxa*) is used as a laxative, while for diarrhea cudweed (*Gnaphalium decurrens*) is recommended. "Boil the flower if you want to take it for diarrhea. Then dry it. It keeps dry all the year around. Pick it toward fall when it blooms. Drink it like a tea. Drink it first and eat afterward." [137]

A cure for mumps and for swellings on the neck draws upon sympathetic magic. "If you have mumps or lumps on the neck, get a plant with a bulb, burn it to ashes, put the ashes on the place with grease, and tie it up." [755]

Oak root is shaved, soaked in water, and used as an eyewash.

A number of pungent plants, among them sage and *Hilaria cenchroides*, serve as remedies for colds: [137]

For headache, crush and smell strong flowers and plants. Do it when the nose is dry and you feel that you are getting a cold. But do not use them as snuff; do not breathe it right up. Sage is crumbled, mixed with tobacco, and smoked in cigarettes for colds. They also boil it, strain the liquid, and drink it.

The most widely used medicine for headaches, colds, and coughs is the root of osha (*Ligusticum porteri*): [137]

Mix it with tobacco and smoke it for a cold. Chew it for a cold or cough too. Grind it up, mix it with water, and rub it on the affected part, on the nose if that is stopped up. If this doesn't work, boil some and drink the water. It may cause vomiting, but it is good for a chest cold. For headache, grind it up, mix it with water, and rub it on the forehead.

The screw bean (*Strombocarpa pubescens*) is a highly considered specific for ear trouble. "Grind it up. Put a little salt and [137]

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757 water with it. Soak it up with some absorbent material, and then squeeze it into the ear."

Excessive dandruff has its remedies. "We use plants for this, two or three different kinds. We burn them to ashes and rub the ashes on with grease. The sap of trees is good for this too."

We see, then, that for minor ailments well-known plants are used without ritual. If pain or sickness persists, an herbalist may [759] be hired who sings and prays while he gives the medicines.

My small boy hurt his arm, and it didn't get better for a long time. I heard that F. was good and had medicine for such things. So I got him. He sang a song first. Then he put some of the medicine on the boy's arm. It cured him too.

[755] [782] Toothaches are sometimes treated by a similar combination of prayer and medicine:

There was a person who knew something about teeth, and he gave an herb that was used for toothache. He prayed in addition, and the toothache was cured.

But in some illnesses which require dosage with herbs the [164] medicine must be given with more formality. Such a malady is venereal disease. The medicine, which is made from the pounded 757 and boiled roots of the locust tree, must be tendered to the pa- 759 tient by one who has special knowledge concerning its preparation and ritual.

A certain young fellow got gonorrhea. The boys used to joke with him a great deal about it. I don't think his mother ever knew what was the matter with him. He just said he was sick. I remember that he approached my father and asked if there wasn't some Apache remedy for the disease. My father said there was, and, of course, there is. I don't think my father had the ceremony that goes with the root, however, and could not have treated him anyway. But my father told him that part of the treatment was that the sick man had to bring the girl before the man who gave the treatment, or the disease could not be cured. The sick man refused to do this. He didn't want to tell on the girl. So my father said that he could do nothing for him in that case.

757 Of venereal disease another informant said:

We have a ceremony for venereal disease. When there is a hard boil down there, they recognize that it is very serious and hard to cure. When it breaks, they have a medicine to put on it. They use a ceremony and drink medicine. 75 When a person is very sick from venereal disease and a shaman is carrying on

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a ceremony to save him, an herbalist, a man or woman who knows what plants will help this sickness, may be called in at the same time. In fact, the shaman may advise this. His power may tell him that someone who knows a good plant is needed. I know cases where a man is pretty sick with gonorrhea and they get him well.

Illnesses peculiar to women are treated by a combination of herbalism and ceremonialism often:

If menstruation stops and the woman is not with child, it is a serious disease called "blood is in her." It can cause a woman to die. For this "flint medicine" is used. This is a lightning-riven twig. The wood is chipped off, boiled in water, and the medicine put in a bowl or cup. Whoever gives it marks it with pollen, performs a ceremony with pollen, and then it is drunk. Just people with special knowledge can perform the ceremony.

For pain at the monthly period and for an excessive flow of menstrual blood, this medicine is also given. Sometimes scrapings from a flint or "thunder arrow" are added before it is taken.

So great a scourge is tuberculosis that plants considered effective against it assume much importance, and their use is accompanied by a great deal of ritual. The most highly esteemed specific for this disease is "narrow medicine," *Perezia wrightii:*

"Narrow medicine" is powerful. It is a root which is ground up and put into water. It is not boiled. Water is put in a shallow basket which is lined with pitch to make it watertight. Then the medicine is added to the water, and four hot stones are put in. It is necessary to use four. It foams up when it is heated. There is a prayer, and a cross of pollen is put on the medicine. Then pollen is held to the four directions and put on the head and back of the patient. A cup of the medicine is taken and held to the directions four times. Then the patient drinks. This is good for tuberculosis. Lots of people get well from taking it.

After taking the medicine, the patient lies out in the sun and gets heated up. He vomits up all the tuberculosis. If he doesn't vomit, he has to defecate. It works either way. Sometimes you see the tuberculosis worm alive and about a half-inch long. Then the patient starts to regain his health.

This herb has been in use a long time. My great-grandmother used it. If the patient is not too far gone, it works. It is given only once or twice. If you take much of it, it makes you weak. It is very expensive. You give a great many things for it—even a horse.

If the person giving it does not know the secrets of it and puts too much in, the patient will go crazy and kill himself. If you don't know the secrets, even though you know the right amount to give, it will hurt you. Tuberculosis is usually treated by old women who know a good deal about herbs.

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756 787 825 539 The man studied my father. He said, "There is no human who has come this far, passing the first man. What do you come for? You see many fruits here, and there are things here that are valuable above all. What you ask for your own good, for raising your children, I will give you."

My father said, "I come for one that is strongest. Are you the strongest?"

"No, there are two above me."

Then my father went on. He came to another man who was shining with a yellow light before him. The light made it appear as though the wind were blowing pollen from the trees around him, but it was not. This man also knew that my father was not going to stop there. So he brought before him two yellow horses with white tails. And a sort of wagon was there.

My father got in the wagon[26] with a guide, and they came to a gate, a big white gate. Everything was as white as could be, even the trees and fruit. Even the faces of the people there shone, and before him he saw all kinds of things. He bowed down four times, and the fourth time he was before a man in a big white chair who had a white staff in his right hand. This man was the last one. This man asked him how he got in and such things as that. My father told him all.

"We had better be moving," the man said, "for it is getting daylight."

So he listened and said "Yes" to everything my father asked him. Everything my father wanted, he got.

"I hate to see poor people sick. I hate it when people are walking along the road poor and without horses. I want to know what is best to do for them. You can give me what you think is best."

This man sang and performed what was given my father. And it raised him as though he had wings. There was nothing but clouds around him. Before him everything shook, and there was lightning and thunder. Much was shown my father, terrible things [witchcraft] and how to stop them.

The man handed him a staff. You'll always have this. It will speak itself. It must never be lost." He told him what was best. And this, they say, was the power of Bear.

After this he knew all the people and their ways and their thoughts, and what was going to be done, and what was going to happen to them. Afterward he did much healing, even for the whites and Mexicans. He was known in Comanche country and by the Navaho.

755 757 The curing ceremony which stemmed from this experience was recalled by the same informant:

He held a bear ceremony for four nights to heal the sick. That's as long as he would continue it. He cured many diseases through it. He used it once on a severe case of pneumonia, the worst case of pneumonia I ever saw. This was right out in the hills. The girl had hemorrhages with it. I thought she was going to die.

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[26] Note the elements of European influence in this story.

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My father sang the songs of the bear and found out what had to be done. He was told that a mixture of different herbs had to be given right away. That was to stop the bleeding. They got the strongest herb first. This one was pointed out by the bear. My mother went and got it, and that night it was given to the girl in four doses. It was given in pollen, and the bowl was lifted to her head four times, then to her lips four times, and she drank it from the side that was marked with pollen.

The next thing was to get after the pneumonia. The girl was stronger now. My mother mixed up the second dose of the same medicine they had given her before. They thought the second dose would surely stop the hemorrhage for good. They gave the medicine to her four times again.

Then my father started in. He took the right front paw of a bear, warmed it, and put it on her chest where it pained most. Then he took a bowl and put it to her chest. He sucked. Blood and pus and suds came out and foamed up. He did that four times. They had real good medicine for the pneumonia. It was the blazing star.[37] It was ground fine, mixed with grease and water; then they rubbed her with it and wrapped her up with some of it on her chest. They tried to make this ceremony short because she was weak.

The second night it went the same way. My father sang two songs. He marked her with pollen. He used the bear paw, putting pollen on it first. He sucked pus out of her again. It came out easily this time.

Now he waited two days before doing anything more for her, but he had my mother continue to give her medicine. He saw that the girl was gaining and getting well.

The third night he started in, he didn't know whether to suck or not. "There is no use to suck. Let me look at her," he said. After singing he looked and saw there was just a little pus left. "I don't think it is necessary to suck again," he said. But he asked the bear. The bear said he had better take it out because that little bit might get bigger. So he sucked it out. Before he sucked he always marked the place with pollen and put pollen in his mouth.

The girl said she could breathe much better. She said she wanted to get well quickly. She prayed all through the ceremony. That's why she got well so quickly. Then the fourth night of the ceremony came. It was a short ceremony this night. The girl was getting along nicely now. They just gave her the medicine.

Another account of the acquisition of a bear ceremony is of special interest because the final paragraph suggests the use together of multiple powers:

A long time ago a group of men went far south looking for horses and cattle. All the party except one man got killed, and, in trying to make his way back, he got lost. In those days they dressed in a buckskin loincloth and buckskin jacket.

[37] Two plants commonly known as blazing star are *Liatris punctata* and *Mentzelia multiflora*.

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Once I was sick with a bad case of kidney trouble. I went to the agency doctor, and he told me I couldn't get well. He said that I'd have trouble all the way through and that one day it would kill me. One side of my face and one side of my body were swollen. I got out of that hospital. Then, because they were distant relatives of mine, these two men sang for me and told me not to be worried, that I was going to get well. P. was there, S., B. and his wife, and some other people, the relatives of my wife. We were not alone. 825 755 539

When they started to cure me, they first smoked. Then they used pollen, marking me on the face. Then they marked the faces of all who were present with pollen. I did it back to these two men, marked their faces with pollen, and the other people did it too. There were quite a few people present. The people always like to listen. Some heard there was going to be singing and just dropped in. [788]

Then they started to sing. During the singing one of them was always drumming. Sometimes it was one of them, sometimes the other. They sang about the nighthawk, calling him Great Old Man Nighthawk, and asking him what it was best to do to get me well. They used feathers of the golden eagle. One had two of them sewed together and attached to his hand all the time.

Their power talked to them any time they asked him something, and they asked him questions right in the songs. Then they would look at each other and talk. One would say, "Do you hear that?" The other would answer, "Yes." But we couldn't hear a thing. Sometimes they got a message, but they would tell me they couldn't say anything about it until morning. They carried on the ceremony at night only for four nights.

When they first sang, Nighthawk spoke to them and said that they didn't have to be frightened, that I'd be going along all right in a few days. I had been laid up during February, March, and April. This was in late April.

Next Nighthawk told them that there was a woman present who knew herbs and that it was best to have her use certain herbs on me. This was my own mother. They directed her in what to do, according to the word of their power, and she went out and gathered all the best herbs. [757]

All during their ceremony they learned many things about my future. They told me that in the future I was going to have land and own everything and have children too. They said the first was to be a boy, and it was. And they said, "You are not only going to have this boy but girls too. In the spring you are going to plow. You will look up and see just one little cloud. And it will open and rain first on your place." And it all really came true. In the spring I was plowing back of East Mountain. It rained first on my place. It did this for several years. [787]

The ceremony helped me a great deal. D. told me not to eat liver until I got real well. By May, after the last snow, and when the birds first began to come, I was well. And so I think the power of the nighthawk was certainly strong.

Owl.—When individuals are first troubled by the call of an owl or by thoughts and dreams of the dead, there are measures 82 789

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

The only other times a man will call the name of another to his face are when he is drunk or angry; a man in his right senses won't do it. But if a person is angry with another, he drops all reserve and calls the other's name freely, telling him what he thinks of him. You have to be careful about this, for it means a fight. 551 576 578

It is considered very impolite to call a man's name to his face. You might call his name when he is not present, but we think it impolite to call the name of a person who is with you. Not long ago I was by the roadside with a young fellow. An old man was riding past. This young fellow forgot himself and called the rider by name. The old man paid no attention and rode on. The young fellow felt pretty much ashamed.

An occasion when the name was purposely used to start a quarrel was described:

This boy came toward me, calling to me and using my name. "You think you're smart!" he told me. He used my name a lot. He did it with emphasis. Then we started to fight.

Very early the next morning, before I was out of bed, he came over. He had come to tell me that he was sorry for what he had done. He used my name this time too. This was a special occasion; that's why.

The proper use of the name is a potent factor in obtaining a favorable response to a request: 551 574 576 757

One time my wife and I wanted some medicine to keep. We were collecting lots of roots. We had a sack of them. We didn't know how the leaves of one particular plant looked, so we couldn't collect any. My wife heard that an old lady had this kind we wanted, and she asked me to go and get some.

I didn't want to do it, for I knew this plant was valuable to the old lady. She was a ceremonial woman and used some in her ceremony. But my wife kept bothering me until I went to the old lady's home. First I visited with her for a few minutes. You have to act just so to the old people. When I got there, she began to talk about things, about the weather. When you call on a person you haven't visited before, you are treated extra fine, for that person knows you want some favor.

I didn't want to ask her for it. I guess she thought I needed help. People come to her because of sickness. Finally, she asked me what I wanted. I started to say I didn't come for anything special, and then I had to say it; so I called her by name and said, "So-and-so, I am gathering some plants, just out of curiosity. I have some of my own, but I hear you have a plant used in a certain sickness. If you care to, I wish you would give me a sample of it."

I used the language that brings results. She gave me a handful of it. This medicine is for tuberculosis. It is called "narrow medicine" [*Perezia wrightii*]. [039]

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

551 574 576 757 When she gave it to me, she told me not to use it, for I didn't know the ceremony and would get into trouble.

Later on she met my wife. She told my wife that ordinarily she would not have given me that medicine, that it is very valuable and she doesn't give it away. But I had come like a gentleman. I knew the old customs and how to call her name. I wasn't like so many of the younger people. I had respect for the old customs, and so she gave it to me. Since then I have been pretty good friends with that old woman.

551 To avoid using names, teknonymy, nicknames, and age terms are resorted to in referring to individuals:

You often hear a person spoken of as the father of So-and-so, the mother of So-and-so. The reason for doing this is that it is an easy way to get around calling a person's name, especially before the person or his relatives. A younger person is spoken of through his older relatives too.

I don't know whether I have a nickname. A person's nickname will never be called before him. H. is known as "He Who Wears Glasses." If I say this, everyone knows who I mean. It is a good way of getting out of calling the real name. But though everyone uses it, I doubt that H. even knows about it, and he probably never will.

J. is called "Mexican." Everyone uses this. But he doesn't know it and probably would not like it. But this is not said for meanness. Even some who use polite form to him call him this.

"Old man" is not used like the English "Mr." We never would say "old man" and then add a man's Chiricahua name. The word refers to age or is used so that the name of a person can be avoided. A man goes to a camp looking for another man. He has to let the people there know what he wants. So he says to the wife or whoever is around, "Where is the old man?" They know who he means then, for he's looking for the man of the family.

Lots of people come around looking for my father-in-law. They don't call him by name, for it is very impolite to call a man by his name just for nothing. So they ask for "the old man." Of course, they might mean me if I were absent. My wife would have to take a chance in answering. She could guess pretty well by who it is. If it's someone I know well or go around with, she would know he was looking for me.

201 576 Persons or objects may be indicated by pointing:

If a man asks where another is, the person spoken to is more likely to point with the lips than with the hand. Now old people come in the store and point to objects on the shelves with their lips. Pointing with the hands is really for emphasis and is not considered polite. It should be done only in anger, when you might say, "That man over there!" and point.

2: Castetter and Opler N, E-5 (1931-1934)1936
NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
CHIRICAHUA
MESCALERO

fourth verse of the songs, or at the end of the second or fourth song, he looks for some sign or word from his power which will guide him in the further steps to be taken. If sorcery has caused the complaint, the object shot into the victim by the sorcerer may have to be sucked out, either through a tube or with the lips. A concoction of herbs as medicine may be prescribed. Food and behavior taboos may be imposed on the patient. Various plants may be burned that the patient may inhale the smoke. Parts of animals and ceremonial objects may be rubbed on the sufferer's body.

Red ochre, white clay, and specular iron ore figure prominently in Apache ceremonials in addition to the ritual objects already mentioned. Snakeweed *(Gutierrezia* sp.), grama grass *(Bouteloua* sp.) and sage *(Artemisia* sp.) are plants much used in ceremonial contexts. The source from which curative power comes is nearly always represented in the rite by some body part. If that source is animal, its hide or some part of it will be in evidence. If it is a bird, the tail feather will, in all likelihood, be found among the ceremonial paraphernalia manipulated.

Though curing occupies the central place in Apache ceremonialism, power can be approached with other ends in view, and its aid obtained for locating the enemy, finding lost objects, helping in the hunt, for learning the probable outcome of a given course of action, and for the solving of many other problems.

There were ceremonies, too, which were performed over the growing child at specific times to insure for him long life and good health. A ceremony was held when the child was put into the cradle; another when he was about to walk. About a year later, in the spring, a rite was performed in which the hair was cut, that it might afterwards grow out full and thick.

The only Apache ceremony which deviated from the shamanistic principle and which did not depend for its success upon the personal relation between a shaman and his power, was the girl's puberty rite. This was a rite which in theory had been taught to the Apache by the culture hero